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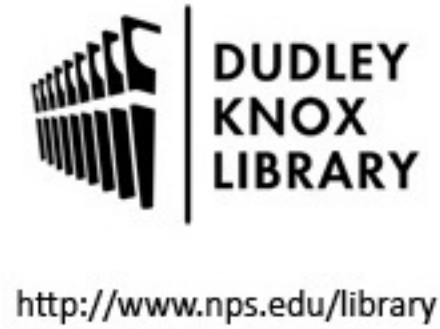

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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
Monterey, California

THESIS

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN THE LATE SUHARTO ERA

by

Kisenda Wiranatakusumah

June 2000

Thesis Advisors: Harold Trinkunas
Second Reader: Lyman Miller

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The Indonesian armed forces played an important role in building the nation and in making Indonesia independent ABRI, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Forces was born as an army of national liberation, and it played an important role in politics from the beginning. After the failure of an attempted coup by the Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) on 30 September 1965, Suharto, as a commander, brought the military fully into the political arena. ABRI became embedded in the government, which meant that ABRI itself became the government. Some military officers began to have doubts about supporting Suharto without setting limits. As a result, Suharto took strong action and marginalized the military from its social political role. ABRI as an institution lost its authority, and it became a tool for the regime instead of a pioneer in the development of the nation. Under Suharto we can conclude that during 1965-1985 period, the Indonesian government could be classified as a "military regime." Then, after Suharto gradually began to push the military further from direct control over the government, the military lost whatever autonomy it might have exercised before. This is important because the type of authoritarian regime influences the chances for success of a new democracy. Given that the military had been pushed out of many aspects of government policy-making, Indonesia's new democracy should experience less civil-military conflict.

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Civil-Military Relations in the Late Suharto Era

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Major, Indonesian Air Force
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

The Indonesian armed forces played an important role in building the nation and in making Indonesia independent. ABRI, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Forces was born as an army of national liberation, and it played an important role in politics from the beginning. After the failure of an attempted coup by the Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) on 30 September 1965, Suharto, as a commander, brought the military fully into the political arena. ABRI became embedded in the government, which meant that ABRI itself became the government. Some military officers began to have doubts about supporting Suharto without setting limits. As a result, Suharto took strong action and marginalized the military from its social political role. ABRI as an institution lost its authority, and it became a tool for the regime instead of a pioneer in the development of the nation. Under Suharto we can conclude that during 1965-1985 period, the Indonesian government could be classified as a "military regime." Then, after Suharto gradually began to push the military further from direct control over the government, the military lost whatever autonomy it might have exercised before. This is important because the type of authoritarian regime influences the chances for success of a new democracy. Given that the military had been pushed out of many aspects of government policy-making, Indonesia's new democracy should experience less civil-military conflict.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The political crisis that happened in Indonesia at the end of Suharto's New Order government was connected with Indonesia's economy which, along with those of many other South East Asia Regions, began to unravel in July 1997. The nation's currency, the Rupiah, rebounded to 12,125 against the dollar after sinking to a record low of 17,000, as did the Jakarta stock market. As the crisis widened, it unleashed a tidal wave of misery, washing away the livelihood of millions, including many in the middle class. By year's end, an estimated 1 million children were out of school, their parents unable to afford their fees. The level of joblessness and poverty increased drastically and inflation reached 100 percent. This crisis shook Suharto's regime, whose political legitimacy had already been questioned.[1]

Several incidents led to the resignation of Suharto in 21 May 1998. Among them were rejection by some intellectual groups of the result of the 1997 election, the monetary crisis, students' refusal to accept Suharto as a candidate for his seventh term of presidency, student demonstrations, the shooting of students at Trisakti University, the 13-15 May 1998 riots, and the student occupation of the General Assembly building on 15 May 1998. [2]

There was political turmoil among the political elite anticipating the wave of reformation. On 18 May 1998, surprisingly, the Speaker of Indonesian Parliament (DPR/MPR), Harmoko, held a press conference and said leaders of the various political factions would meet and ask the 76-year-old leader to act wisely and step down willingly.

---

[1] "Key Events of the Indonesian Crisis," *The World Bank Group*, available at http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/offrep/eap/invents.htm

[2] Ibid.

Ironically, Harmoko was also the one who previously told Suharto that 70 percent of the people of Indonesia still wanted him to become president in the earlier election in 1997. However, Gen. Wiranto, who commanded the country's military, said the demand represented only the views of some individuals.[3]

Finally, every maneuver by politicians and the military was halted when, on 21st May 1998, Suharto announced his resignation and appointed Vice President B.J. Habibie to become his successor to continue the rest of his term. At this moment, General Wiranto, as ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Armed Forces of Republic of Indonesia) commander, made a statement that ABRI would support the constitution, and he would protect Suharto and his family. This historical moment brought about conflicting opinions in the society. Suharto's resignation and the procedure of taking oath of office for President Habibie were questionable on constitutional grounds, as was General Wiranto's statement, because at that time the cabinet was dismissed.[4]

Suharto was overthrown despite the support of General Wiranto. Why? Because he led a civilian authoritarian regime, which had sidelined the armed forces in favor of civilian sources of support. When their withdrew his support, the armed forces no longer had the will or the interest in propping up his regime.

A. IMPORTANCE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis is important in understanding the type of civil military relations during the Suharto era. The role of the military in politics is a very interesting subject to study,

[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

especially in the third world countries in Asia. Indonesia is one of the countries in Asia whose military has had an important role in the nation. The role of Indonesian military in politics did not come as a result of praetorian politics nor did it develop suddenly. The role of the military in politics began when the republic was born. When the first civilian government could not stand up to the allies, the British and the Dutch, then the military leader took a different path. Under the supreme commander, General Sudirman, the existence of the republic defense entirely depended upon guerrilla war. Furthermore, the military involvement in non military matters was reaffirmed after the 1945 constitution was used again in 1950. Then, since Suharto ruled the country in the late 1960s, the military role in social political matters became more significant.

It can be concluded that the military has no plan to abandon power. Surprisingly, both under the Suharto New Order regime and under the new democratic regime, the armed forces have lost power and autonomy. This thesis is important to understand the how this occurred.

B. ARGUMENT

Many observers have argued that the military in Indonesia controlled the government; in other words Indonesia was under a military regime. Karen L. Remmer in her book, *Military Rule in Latin America*, wrote: "Three decades of research have yielded little beyond a set of truisms. One truism is that military acts to protect its institutional interests." If this was the case in Indonesia, we would expect the military dominate the policy making process to defend its interests. Based upon the theory and the discussion

above, the question that will be posed is whether Indonesia during the period between 1965-1998 was under a military regime or a civilian authoritarian regime?

Under Suharto we could draw the conclusion that at a certain phase the Indonesian government could be classified as a "military regime." But then, after Suharto's contemporaries retired from the military, and Suharto felt that the new officers in the military could threaten his position, he gradually began to withdraw the military from direct control over the government. Suharto increasingly civilianized his military regime. The military lost whatever independence it might have exercised before 1965.

The type of authoritarian regime influences the chances for success of a new democracy. The higher degree of militarization of the authoritarian regime would expose the military more saliently to emerging civilian policies, thus increasing the difficulty of the transition.[5] Thus, if Indonesia was a military regime under Suharto, we would expect a high degree of military resistance to democracy, particularly in the areas of defense policy and human rights. However, if the New Order regime was a civilian dictatorship, we would expect to see less military contestation under democratic rule.

C. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

The analysis will use the case study method over time to examine the president and the military involvement in the social and political affairs in Indonesia. I will examine the relative power of military in the time period, vis-à-vis the government over

[5] Guillermo O'Donnel, *Introduction to the Latin American Cases*, , ed. Guillermo O'Donnel, Phillipe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy*, part II, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pages 10-11.

time. Then I will assess who was in charge in each period. This thesis will show that the balance of power shifted towards Suharto by 1978.

Data collection is based on published books and articles, newspaper reports, and from the Internet.

D. CONTENT OF THE THESIS

Chapter I – Introduction

This section discusses the research question, importance of the subject, methodology, and structure of the thesis.

Chapter II - Indonesian Military's history up to 1965

This section documents the history of how the Indonesian military expanded its influence in the country since the revolutionary era, the turbulent 50s, the development of military doctrine (middle way, dwi fungsi/dual function) and the origins of the 1965 coup.

Chapter III - Rule by Suharto and the military 1965-1978

This section discusses how Suharto and the military initially governed the country during the new order regime. The military as an institution saw themselves as the saviors of the nation, and they placed their members in every important position in the government. Suharto as the President allowed this situation to happen and encouraged it because he needed the military to support him.

Chapter IV - Generational changes and military challenges to Suharto from 1978 to mid-1980s

This section examines how some idealist officers realized that the military dual function deviated from its original track. They had not just only begun to question the legitimacy of the military supporting only one political party (Golkar), but also challenged Suharto in many other ways as well.

Chapter V - Suharto consolidates power mid1980s-1998

This section analyzes Suharto's consolidation of power after his military contemporaries retired, and he felt threatened by the new military officers. Officers in ABRI increasingly thought that Suharto's domination in political process was not the ideal system for political stability.

Chapter VI and VII – Reformation era and military new paradigm 1998-now/Conclusions

These chapters conclude that the last period of Suharto's regime was a civilian authoritarian regime. Suharto used 'dual function' doctrine to use ABRI to control the country. However, following democratization civilians are not really ready to fill the positions left by the military, such as in the department of defense, because many civilians have too little knowledge and education in defense issues.

II. INDONESIA'S MILITARY UP TO 1965

The Indonesian military developed political autonomy during the country's struggle for independence. At that time, it did not want to limit its role only to the defense area. The Japanese occupation during WW II helped Indonesia build a strong military, but also brought soldiers into political life. After the Japanese surrendered in 1945, civilian politicians still advocated cooperation with the Dutch colonial government, which did not satisfy military leaders, who preferred armed struggle to gain Indonesian freedom from the Dutch. Thus, the military pushed the leading civilian politician, Sukarno, to immediately announce Indonesia's proclamation of independence. Even though civilian politicians did not authorize formal armed forces immediately, military officers built their own organizations. Moreover, the military chose its own leadership, overriding the choices of civilian politicians. To fight the Dutch, the military and civilians had different agendas. The civilians believed in political negotiation while the military wanted to continue to use force to achieve independence. This conflict over policy established a pattern of military autonomy from civilian direction.

In this chapter, I will examine four examples of successful military resistance to civilian oversight. First, I will examine the declaration of independence. Then, I will examine civil-military conflict over the formation of Indonesian armed forces. Third, I will show how the TNI acted independently from political direction during the struggle against the Dutch in 1947 and 1948. Finally, I will show how the armed forces developed their own doctrine (the ABRI's "Dual Function" or middle way), that justified military involvement in social and political issues.

A. THE PEOPLE SOLDIERS

After more than three centuries of Dutch colonialism, Indonesia was occupied by Japan from March 1942 to August 1945. The Japanese played an important role in the future of Indonesia's social and political life, creating various military organizations during their occupation of Indonesia. This situation was an important step in development of the Indonesian military because in the Dutch colonialist armed forces, Koninklijke Nederlands-Indische Leger (KNIL) only allowed a few Indonesians to become officers. The highest Indonesian officers before 1940 were of the rank of Major. The Japanese organized various military groups like the defenders of fatherland (PETA), pioneer front, Seinendan, Keibodan, Heiho, and Boei, and these groups were led by local leaders. Thus, when the Japanese surrendered to the allies on August 15, 1945, they left behind several local military forces in Indonesia. These military groups, led by local officers unconcerned by the traditional military hierarchy, would play an important role in military and politics in Indonesia for the next two generations.[6]

After Japan surrendered, Sukarno and Hatta, the main civilian political leaders proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. These leaders generally were from an "older generation" who had participated in politics since Dutch colonialist rule. Many nationalist leaders educated and trained in the West usually came from *priyayi*, the traditional Java elite feudal group. The Japanese destroyed the authority and prestige of the priyayi by allowing some of the youth, most of them military members, to fill the political vacuum. Japanese occupation then awakened a new political generation that later become known as the 45 generation.

---

[6] Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function of the Indonesian Armed Forces*, (Singapore: Institute of In ternational Affairs, 1995), pages 25-26

On August 14, 1945, one day before the Japanese surrendered, PETA and Heiho disbanded. Local armed groups filled the military vacuum. These groups became the new Praetorian Guard. At the same time, the Japanese surrender announcement led to different opinions about how the proclamation of independence should be managed. The older generation, like Sukarno and Hatta, wanted to continue their cooperation with the Japanese to prevent armed conflict. On the other hand, younger leaders wanted to end their relationship with the Japanese. In the end, the older generation of leaders realized that the Japanese no longer had any authority and control, after Tokyo surrendered to the allies.[7]

According to Lieutenant General (ret.) Hasnan Habib, the most important thing in this incident was "actually the ABRI's political role ahead from the proclamation. It was begin in the initiation of the declaration of independence, which happened one day before Indonesia independence was proclaimed by Sukarno-Hatta on behalf of the Indonesian people."[8]

As it is explained in the book, *The History of Republic of Indonesian Armed Forces*, "before proclamation of Indonesian independence, we did not have armed forces... even in the proclamation day, our wealthy were only a small piece of paper that had proclamation text; more papers with constitution; the red-white flag; national anthem and the full spirit of feelings of freedom. Outside these five pillars, practically there was nothing that could be called our capital."[9] Given this attitude the future Indonesian

[7] Brig. Gen. Nugroho Notosusanto, *The National Struggle and the Armed Forces in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Pusat Sejarah ABRI), Page 12, quoted in Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function*, page 27.
[8] Ibid.
[9] *The History of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesian*, (Jakarta: Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia), p 7, quoted in Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function*, page 29.

armed forces would take an important role in defending the independence of Indonesia, which had just been proclaimed.

B. FROM INDEPENDENCE FIGHTERS TO NATIONAL SOLDIER

Although the political leadership announced the nation's independence on August 17, 1945, there was no immediate plan to build formal armed forces. This was because the government and its leader believed that diplomacy was the best way to achieve freedom. On the other hand, the armed organizations and the younger generation believed that freedom could only be achieved by armed struggle.

The People's Security Agency (BKR) was established on August 20, 1945 by the former members of PETA and Heiho. BKR was not a military organization but an institution for establishing security and the people's wealth. A national police was also established for defending law and order. Many armed organizations objected, and began to establish independent "fighter organizations." Many student-soldiers also emerged during this period. As President Suharto stated on October 5, 1970, the younger generations felt "it did not make sense having the government without security personnel to defend sovereignty." As a consequence, there were two reactions to the government's policy: "some of them joined the BKR to 'give their best effort there' and some of them chose to establish their own 'fighter institutions.'"[10]

One and half months after the proclamation of independence, the government realized that it could not survive without national armed forces. Lieutenant General Urip Sumahardjo, a KNIL retired officer, was made responsible for uniting various armed

[10] Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance*, 1944-46, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 244.

organizations into the TKR. The TKR was a better military organization than BKR because it had hierarchy and showed good performance. This context clarified that "Republic of Indonesian Armed Forces was armed forces from Indonesian people, an established base from the people and by the people. Republic of Indonesian Armed Forces was created from the bottom and was not a government institution at all."
The outcome of battles against the allies, the British and the Dutch, showed the need for coordination within the armed forces. On November 11, 1945, various organizations of armed forces held a conference, which was led by General Urip. The main goal of the conference was to get support and cooperation from various local commanders, especially from the commanders that were not under the control of TKR. The other goal of the conference was to develop a general strategy to defend the Republic from the allies. The historical decision made by the armed organizations was to choose minister of defense and a commander in chief. Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX was assigned as minister of defense, while Colonel Sudirman, the charismatic ex PETA commander, was appointed as Commander in Chief. Urip was assigned to be Sudirman's chief of staff and promoted to the level of Lieutenant General. Thus, the military showed their freedom to manage their organization without civilian politicians involvement.[11]

C. CIVIL-MILITARY FRICTION

These circumstances brought about friction between the military and the civilian politicians. The military did not wait for civilian authority to appoint their leaders. This demonstrated their political autonomy. Prime Minister Sjahrir, head of the government

[11] Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function*, pages 32-33

parliament in Jakarta was not informed about the conference of the Commanders in Yogyakarta, so he appointed Amir Syarifuddin as Minister of Defense. This situation created confusion and friction between military leadership under General Sudirman and the Sjahrir administration. On December 18, 1945, President Sukarno formally appointed Sudirman as the commander in chief, but he refused to appoint Sultan as Minister of Defense. Thus, it was not the government who appointed the military leaders, but the armed forces themselves.[12]

On February 23, 1946, the TKR was changed to Indonesian Republic Soldiers (TRI). However, various guerilla fighters or paramilitary units were affiliated with political parties, and they starting to question TRI's authority. This connection between "fighters organizations" and political parties created problems. Amir Syarifuddin, a socialist, established the *Biro Perjuangan* (Office of Struggle) inside Ministry of Defense to solve these problems. This organization was made up to coordinate various fighter organizations that had various base ideologies. But, because the Minister and his assistant were socialist, the *Biro Perjuangan* slowly drifted into the control of the socialists.[13] Thus, the fragmentation inside the military could not be prevented.

Given this challenging situation, on June 13, 1947, TRI was renamed as Indonesia National Soldier (TNI). Then, all regular and irregular armed forces powers were integrated into the national armed forces. Disagreements continued threatening the TNI because it was shaped from various factions such as PETA, pioneer front, Heiho, and various 'freedom fighters'.

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Salim Said, *Genesis of Power: General Soedirman and the Indonesian Military in Politics, 1945-49*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 1991), p 44.

The conflict between civilian and military elements worsened when Amir Syarifuddin became Prime Minister in 1947. The government continued to place the armed forces under their command in order to serve party interests. "Many had extra-military political loyalties and soldiers often had a stronger sense of commitment to their unit commander than to the army as a whole."[14] There was also ideological fragmentation within the parties. Therefore the military leadership began to develop its own ideology as bases to fight in the independence struggle.[15]

On May 25, 1947, the Dutch and the Indonesian government representatives negotiated and the result was the Linggarjati agreement; the British brokered it. The agreement provided for the Dutch recognition of republican rule on Java and Sumatra, and Netherlands-Indonesian Union under the Dutch Crown. Neither the republic nor the Dutch were happy with it. This agreement made Sjahrir step down and then Amir Sajrifuddin replaced him.

In January 1948 Syarifuddin stepped down, as a result of the Renville agreement. This agreement marked the low point of republican fortunes, because it was allowed the Dutch to retake some part of republican rule. However, the United Nations (UN) and United States (USA) were involved in this agreement. On January 29, 1948, Hatta formed a presidential cabinet and continued the process of restructuring and reorganizing the armed forces. Although Sudirman was against the rationalization scheme, he believed that restructuring the armed forces was needed for implementation of the guerilla war against the Dutch.

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[14] Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, (Ithaca: Cornell University, revised edition, 1988), page 27.

[15] *The History of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia), p 15, quoted in Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function*, page 36.

There were two period of conflict between the armed forces and the Dutch. The first was the 'police action' on July 21, 1947 and the second was 'police action' on December 19, 1948. Both 'police actions' occurred after civilian politicians signed agreements with the Dutch, the Linggarjati and Renville accords. The Dutch were claiming that the republic made violations of these two agreements. For those reasons, the military questioned the effectiveness and capability of the civilian politicians. Moreover, the TNI also suppressed the communist Madiun revolt September 18, 1948.[16]

After the Dutch transferred sovereignty to the Republic in November 1949, it resulted in an open conflict between the military and civilian politicians. The military was unhappy over the powers of Ali Sastroamijoyo civilian government. This was because the new civilian government set up a provisional constitution that undermined the original, 1945 constitution. Accordingly, the military protested boycotting the new government and consequently brought about the collapse of the Ali Sastroamijoyo government. This whole event was known as the "October 1952 affair." After that time, position of the armed forces chief of staff was eliminated.

D. THE FRAGMENTATION

The long history of the Indonesian Armed Forces can be viewed as a struggle for integration. The internal splits within the services and between the services were caused by two different factors, the objective factors essential in the process of formation of the Armed Forces and the subjective factors originating from outside the military. The objective factors lie in the origin of the Armed Forces, which was a result of more or less

[16] William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden (edited), *Indonesia a Country Study*, (Library of Congress, 1993)

spontaneous action of individuals or groups of individuals. Differences in background like that between Dutch-military-educated, Japanese military educated and non-military-educated people were no serious causes for split. Differences in regional, religious and ethnic background have never been a problem. The more serious differences were those in outlook between the ex-BKR people and ex-struggle organization people, and between the ex-struggle organization people themselves. (Ex-members of Pesindo or Socialist Youth were very hostile against the Hizbullah or Moslem Youth, for instance). This condition was continuously intensified by the subjective factors existing in the various political parties, political groups or politicians whose attempts to have and increase their "backing" within the Armed forces started early during War of Independence 1945-1949, and went on until the efforts of the special bureau of the Communist Party of Indonesia to recruit cadres and activists from among the military in the fifties and sixties.[17] These attempts were the main cause for the splits within the military. As soon as those subjective factors ceased working, the efforts to achieve integration met with more success. Except for the absence of strong efforts at politicizing the Armed Forces from outside, the reasons for the cohesion were:

1. Success in performing the Dual Function: a. Continuous success in military operations b. Leading role in national life;
2. Improved management: a. Orderly career management (tour of duty, tour of area promotions, etc.) b. Integrated education (Armed Forces academy, armed forces staff and command school); and
3. Unified organizational structure.

[17] Brig. Gen. Nugroho Notosusanto, *The National Struggle and the Armed Forces in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Pusat Sejarah ABRI), Page 69.

The role of the Indonesian Armed Forces in society is officially formulated under the name of the Dual Function. As we have seen in its historical background, the Armed Forces had its origins in the youthful freedom fighters of 1945, both in the BKR and in the fighter organizations. Out of the ethos of being freedom fighter first and a (professional) soldier second have come the concept of the dual function, namely the function of freedom fighter later broadened into the defense and security function or military function. The Indonesian military's foremost interest is to increase national resilience and the way to do it is through national development or modernization. National resilience is the condition necessary to achieve the national goal as formulated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, namely, "to improve the general welfare, to promote intellectuality in national life and to participate in the efforts to realize a world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice."[18] The socio-political function of Armed Forces is directed towards intensifying the acceleration of national development.

In the early 1950s two events occurred which had a critical impact on the direction of civilian-military relations. These were the 17 October 1952 event and the so-called June Affair in 1955. In order to understand the background of the 17 October incident, one must examine the attitude of the military towards the civilian politicians immediately after the transfer of sovereignty. The bitter experience with the "surrender" of Sukarno on 18 December 1948, the cease-fire of 1949, and the powerful position of the civilian politicians under the new constitution were the background against which the affair unfolded. Moreover, most of the members of the provisional Parliament at that

[18] Ibid, page 70

time and some of the ministers did not belong to the groups genuinely fighting for independence. This is easy to understand if one recalls that the Republic of Indonesia post-1950 was a product of an integration between the original republic, whose capital was Yogyakarta, and the areas formerly under the federal states created by the Dutch. During the physical revolution, in order to contain the original Republic, the Dutch has created many states throughout Indonesia. It was to those many states, joined together with the original Republic to form the United States of Indonesia, that the Dutch transferred sovereignty at the end of 1949. But those states existed only for a very short period. Within a year following the transfer of sovereignty, all of them dissolved and merged with the Republic of Indonesia.[19]

E. THE CONCEPT OF DUAL FUNCTION

The 17 October incident, the first open conflict between the army and the civilian politicians in post-independence Indonesia, was sparked off by discussion in the provisional Parliament. The topic at hand was modernization of the army, an issue regarded by the army as developed by Nasution commander of the army, and T.B. Simatupang, the then chief-of-staff of the armed forces, was opposed by a group within the army. This group had close contact with President Sukarno and a group of opposition parliamentarians. It was really as a result of a letter sent by the leader of the latter group that the Parliament began to discuss the military problem.[20] The army headquarters and several regional commanders were irritated by this discussion in Parliament. On 17

[19] Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York, and London: Cornell University Press, 1962), pages 58-77.

[20] A.H. Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas*, Vol III, (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1983), p. 179.

October 1952, the officers from army headquarters, together with some regional commanders, went to the Palace to see President Sukarno, asking him to assume power and dissolve the provisional Parliament. Sukarno did not surrender to the military pressure, and Nasution, as the highest-ranking officer from the army headquarters, resigned thereafter.[21]

The visit to the Palace of the army officers, and, later, the resignation of Nasution were the military's political tradition of the period before, namely during the revolution. As has been noted earlier, when government in the revolutionary period of Yogyakarta was about to rationalize the military (1948), Sudirman, opposed to the rationalization plan, went to see President Sukarno to deliver his disagreement. Again, when the government decided to negotiate with the Dutch to end the guerilla war at the end of 1949, Sudirman delivered his protest. And because this protest was disregarded, Sudirman decided to resign from his position as the commander of the armed forces. This decision was not carried through because Nasution persuaded Sudirman to remain in his position. Because of the 17 October 1952 incident, "...the overall bargaining strength of the army vis-à-vis everyone else in the political arena was seriously impaired."[22] And it was the weak bargaining position of the army that became the root of another conflict between the army and the government.

On 31 July 1953, a new cabinet came into being with Iwa Kusuma Sumantri, a well-known leftist, as minister of defense. There were two policies of Kusuma Sumantri that irritated the army. The first was his open sympathy for the leftist group, which consisted of people who had been involved in the 1948 communist rebellion in Madiun.

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[21] Feith, *The Decline*, pp 246-273; Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas*, Vol 3, pp. 1-214.
[22] Feith, *The Decline*, p. 399.

The second was his policy of maintaining or even deepening the cleavage between the pro-and the anti-17 October groups. Kusuma Sumantri's policy created disquiet among the army officers.

To prevent further civilian intervention in the internal affairs of the army, the officers subsequently decided to organize a large meeting among them. The meeting was opened in Yogyakarta on 17 February 1955 and was attended by more than 250 officers. One of the results of that meeting was that groups, the anti as well as the pro 17 October affair, agreed to end their conflicts.[23] Commenting on the result of the conference, Nasution in his memoir writes: "With the unity of the TNI, the palace [i.e., President Sukarno] and the parties could not again freely intervene in internal TNI problems."[24]

In this event, Nasution was wrong. On 10 June 1955, the government decided to appoint Colonel Bambang Utoyo, a man of fairly low seniority as an officer, as chief of staff. The appointment was against the spirit of the Yogyakarta meeting, for it had been agreed then that seniority was an important criterion for promotion to the position of chief-of-staff. Bambang Utoyo initially refused his appointment. He was sworn in on 27 June 1955. His installation ceremony was completely boycotted by the officers from the army headquarters. The boycott, which later became known as the "June Affair", was a blow for the cabinet.[25] To one foreign observer, "The June affair could be considered to be the dividing line between the period when the army was mainly concerned with

[23] Ali Sostroamijoyo, *Milestone on My Journey* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1979), pp. 272-273; Feith, *The Decline*, p. 398.
[24] Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas*, Vol. III, p. 277.
[25] Feith, *The Decline*, p. 399.

resisting political interference in its internal affairs and the period when it began to play an active role in politics."[26]

Beginning in 1957, martial law legalized the entry of military officers into politics. Martial Law gave the military the opportunity to exercise more power. General Nasution, who had been reinstated as the army chief-of-staff in 1955, still needed a doctrine to justify the political role of the military in term of history and experiences. But a clear concept of the military's socio-political role was not presented until General Nasution's "Middle Way" speech on 12 November 1958. By this principle, Nasution felt he was essentially making clear the position of the army in society, namely: "...not just the 'civilian tool' like in the Western countries, nor a 'military regime' which dominates the state power, but as one of the many forces in society, the force for the struggle of the people which works together with other people's forces."[27]

It is this "Middle Way" doctrine that launches the formal departure on the long journey of the dual function doctrine, which in essence legitimized the sociopolitical role of the military. By that time, military officers had already started to occupy many positions, which traditionally had been occupied by civilians.

In the last days of guided democracy, when the PKI had already outmaneuvered the other political parties, and Sukarno was perceived by many as very sympathetic towards the communists, it was to the army that most of non-communist Indonesia,

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[26] Guy J. Parker, *"The Role of the Military in Indonesia,"* in John J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries"*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1962), p. 211.
[27] A.H. Nasution, Tonggak Tonggak Dwi Fungsi (Jakarta, mimeo, 1981), p. 17. See also Daniel S. Lev, The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics, 1957-58 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph Series, Cornell University, 1966), pages 191-192. Both quoted in Salim Said, *Genesis of Power: General Soedirman and the Indonesian Military in Politics, 1945-49*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 1991), p 135-136.

especially the elite, looked. It was no wonder then that following the assassinations of 1 October 1965, the army got the whole-hearted support of non-communist Indonesians to crush PKI as well as to depose Sukarno.

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III. RULE BY SUHARTO AND THE MILITARY 1965-1978

The year 1965 was a time when the military truly moved beyond political autonomy and gained direct control over the Republic of Indonesia. After the Communist Party, a prominent rival of the army, was defeated, the army/military became the main political player in Indonesia. General Suharto was able to consolidate military power under his command. Following this consolidation, the military would spread their influence to other important state's institutions and justify this with the new dual function doctrine. Indonesia at that moment could be regarded as a military dictatorship, because the armed forces put its persons in the key positions of almost every institution of the state.

There are five instances that highlight the growing military hegemony over civilians in the state apparatus. First, I will examine the military role in the executive branch. Then, I will examine how the military received seats in the parliament, and influenced the legislative assembly. Third, I will examine the military's role in the practical politics. Moreover, to maintain political stability the military also became involved in organizing society and political life. Finally, they also became one of the main players in the Indonesian economy, as the result of the nationalization.

A. SUHARTO TAKES POWER

After the failure of the coup by Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) on 30 September 1965, the military once again was integrated into a single command structure. In 1966, General Suharto became minister of defense, and on 30 October 1969, all of the armed forces branch commands were played under him as the Chief of Command. This

reorganization led to the centralization of the armed forces power and eliminated the ministries of the army, navy, air force, and police. Thus, Suharto succeeded in bringing the military into the political arena. With resulting centralization of power, the military was able to implement any kind of order from the authoritarian ruler. Furthermore, the police became the fourth branch of the armed forces, which further added to the centralization of state power. With this new structure, ABRI could interfere easily in the domestic political affairs.[28]

Legal bases were established to strengthen and legitimize General Nasution's concept of the "middle way." One implication of ABRI's new social-political role was to assign officers to the government agencies, institutions, committees, and organizations. In the beginning of the New Order, their assignment was intended to monitor the Indonesians for Communist influence. This mission later changed to a focus on the nation's development.

B. ABRI IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH

ABRI's part in the new order began in 1966, after General Suharto was promoted to chief of the cabinet presidium and also held the position as first minister of defense. General Nasution became speaker of the temporary peoples' parliament (MPRS). ABRI was actively involved in beginning the new order, and in the full effort to recover from the communist rebellion of 1965. At that time, political instability and economic crisis converged. Interestingly, at that time, the entry of ABRI into politics was not because the army struggled to get power from civilians and political parties, but because of the

[28] Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function*, p. 103.

weakness of the civilian political parties. In addition, ABRI's political role in this crisis situation was meant to fill a vacuum in the bureaucracy.

The events of 1965-1966 substantially changed the character of the political system. One significant outcome of the new political role of ABRI was the establishment of the Operation for Security and Order Recovery Command or Kopkamtib. With this institution, ABRI's political role became wide, not only limited in political matters, but also including ideology, economy, and culture.[29]

Previously, military involvement in non-military matters had been to maintain the development of the nation. But now ABRI's appointments in civilian positions were meant to manage the political dynamics of the republic, which then expanded into society. As a result, it was not surprising that there were so many military personnel placed in the civilian position. For instance, in the government, some military appointments were as members of the cabinet, ambassadors, and governors. In the regions, military people replaced the chiefs of districts, not only in the sensitive districts but also in the relatively stable ones. For example, Central Java, Lampung, West Kalimantan, and North Sulawesi were relatively stable regions that had ABRI governors. Although these regions were relatively stable, some had political and economical importance from ABRI's point of view. ABRI domination among the governors made ABRI the decision-maker at the center and in the regions. As a result, promotions throughout the bureaucracy depended on the ABRI leader's agreement. Permits contracts, and decisions upon projects required ABRI approval or, in other words, had to be coordinated with ABRI. Consequently, popular aspirations and goals were

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[29] Ibid., pages 104-105; Harold Crouch, *Army and Politics in Indonesia*, pages 222-223.

subordinated to ABRI's. Moreover, ABRI appointments to bureaucratic positions were often done without competitive selection.[30]

C. ABRI IN THE PARLIAMENT

By the end of the 1960s, the political parties reached a compromise favoring adoption of a system of balanced representation as an exchange from single district as suggested by army. As a concession, the army was guaranteed to get 100 seats in the parliament. When General Jusuf became minister of defense, ABRI launched a civil mission. In part, this program was meant to answer the criticism that the bond between ABRI and the people was being eroded by military arrogance. In addition, the civil mission was meant to enhance ABRI's image and to strengthen it organizationally by giving it roots in the society.

ABRI's involvement in social organizations in the new order began when ABRI became involved in forming Golkar as a new political power in 1964. Golkar was formed, however, because at that time the political parties were considered to be a source of conflict and political instability. In that respect, the political parties' record in government was considered bad and could not be repeated. Also, to support new economic ideas, a new order government needed nonpartisan groups to carry on its programs. In this regard, Golkar was expected to become a locomotive for the new order government. In the past, ABRI also formed mass organizations affiliated with ABRI institution, such as MKGR, Soksi, and Kosgoro. The purpose of forming mass organizations was to balance communist affiliated organizations.[31]

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[30] Indria Samego, "...*Bila ABRI Menghendaki*", pages 107-112
[31] Indria Samego, "...*Bila ABRI Menghendaki*", pages 114-115

D. ABRI IN EVERY DAY POLITICS

When Suharto came to power in mid 1960s, he relied to a very considerable extent on a group of advisers drawn from the army. In the mid-1970s, four of most important members of the "inner core group" were Yoga Sugama, Ali Murtopo, Sudomo, and Benny Murdani. These men enjoyed close relations with the president more as individuals than as a group. Suharto's loyal officers predominated with an intelligence and security background. Three of the four men on whom Suharto depended came from the intelligence and security field. This dominance of intelligence and security officers reflected and reinforced Suharto's preoccupation with a "security and development" approach to nation building. All the key pillars of Suharto's rule were headed by his loyalists, and these officers might be described as "military pragmatists." They saw the enhancement or at least maintenance of the new order as essential to the military's dominant position in society. They took the view that Indonesian society was still in transition. Such efforts were invariably taken in the name of upholding the principles of the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The pragmatists took the view that the end justified the means. In order to achieve the desired results--a stable and prosperous Indonesia--the intelligence services had to manipulate the political process. [32]

The government was able to count on the loyalty of its own administrative structure, in particular on the Departments of Defense and Home Affairs, to ensure that the elections were a success. This gave it an advantage over its political opponents. Ostensibly, these two departments were "the neutral organizers and guardians of an open

[32] David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals Indonesian Military Politics 1975-1983*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1984), p 19-23.

electoral process." In practice, they acted in a most partisan fashion. The ministers of defense and home affairs were team members of Suharto's inner circle, who were members of the control board of Golkar. This type of organization reached down into almost every village and had an all-pervasive influence on Indonesian political life. The most important element of these instruments of control and influence was the army's territorial structure. The commander of each regional military command (Kodam) oversaw a territorial organization, which was considered as important as any other organization under them.

Under the Kodam commanders were a number of military resort commands (Korem). These generally corresponded to the old position of residency in the civilian administrative structure. One step below and corresponding generally with regency was the military district command (Kodim). At another level below an equivalent to the sub district was the military sub district/rayon command (Koramil). Below the Koramil was an NCO (Non Commissioned Officer) who, together with two or three men, represented the army at the village level. Under this system, there was an equation, even at the village level, between the army territorial structure and the civilian administrator. The interaction between the military officers in the territorial administration and officials in the Home Affairs hierarchy was very close. Thus a military man serving as provincial governor kept in close touch with the local military commander. A regent coordinated with the local Kodim commander. This structure gave the army leaders a great capacity to influence the outcome of general elections. In most cases, if the village head came out for Golkar, he could often deliver the whole village to the ruling group. The suggestions of local military officials were backed up by the suggestions and inducements to the

civilian officers. Prior to 1978, the military commander was nearly always chairman of Golkar's regional control board, and also chairman of the regional functional affairs board. In this capacity, he was able to select those officers and NCOs who would serve as a regent, sub district officers, and village head in his domain. In his further capacity as chairman of the provincial leadership council, the military commander had all manner of supporting powers and could if necessary issue instructions to the governor, the police chief and the public prosecutor.[33]

E. ABRI ECONOMIC ROLE

ABRI's part in the economy began when the country faced an emergency situation, when ABRI personnel, during the Parliamentary Democracy era (1949-1959) received the order to take over or nationalize foreign Dutch companies in 1958-1959. The assignment was to secure the companies from workers most of whom were members of SOBSI or the Communist-affiliated Indonesian Central Organization of Labor. To overcome SOBSI, army leader Ahmad Yani supported the forming of SOKSI, the organization to mute the communist SOBSI, which was led by Major Suhardiman. Both military figures discussed the matter and agreed to reactivate anti-communist military personnel who were involved in the PRRI/Permesta effort to suppress the Indonesian Communist Party or PKI.[34]

At the beginning of the new order, ABRI's involvement in the economic matters was meant to get sustained financial resources for the army without disturbing state finances. Therefore, army officers were stationed in many national company sectors,

[33] Ibid., pages 42-50.
[34] Richard Robison, *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*: North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986, page 251.

which considered their needs. The national oil company, Pertamina, was one of the nationally owned companies used by the army to get cash. In the 1960s, income from the oil sector was one third of the country's income. Moreover, after the rise in oil price in the world in 1973-1974, the income from oil export was two-thirds of the total export income at the time. Although Pertamina was a nationally owned company, it was virtually a private company under Major General Ibnu Sutowo's management and responsible only to ABRI's leader. It was true that he was formally responsible to the Ministry of Mining, but he had full autonomy. In 1975, when Pertamina could not pay its short-term debt the foreign countries--valued around 1.5 billion dollars--Ibnu Sutowo's autonomy was challenged. Other nationally owned companies, ruled by ABRI, included the National Logistics Board (Bulog).[35]

Even though the military's superiority over the government was unchallenged, there were signs that the position of the group of 'politic' and 'financial' generals apparently was declining. Whenever a general of 1945 generation who had fought as guerrilla against the Dutch reached retirement, an officer of the new generation with an academic background was promoted from middle-level positions. These middle-level position officers often had embraced military professional ideals. Even though many of them had inherited the older generation's values, some of them realized that chasing commercial necessity would compromise people and the nation and would stimulate political challenges toward the military in the future. Although some of these officers tended to deal with popular dissatisfaction through repressive actions, others tended to cooperate with civilian technocrats within the government in order to develop good

[35] Harold Crouch, *Army and Politics in Indonesia*, pages310-315.

administration important to economic development. There was only a small possibility that the military officers would implement changes in the social program for the sake of the people, but the hope for limited reformation could not be avoided. The unit commanders had to deal with the increasing dissatisfaction of the people resulting from the actions of the 'politic and financial' generals.[36]

Some military men believed that the military dual function had gone too far, and they asked for reform of ABRI's dual function. According to them, there were distortions in implementing the dual function concept. The dual function had systematically shut down the political process in Indonesia and made the political parties dependent on the government. These officers attended seminars, making assignments in favor of focusing the dual function concept on the people's interests, and not simply on the government's or the ruler's. Of course to make their idea happen, they would meet criticism and opposition from their colleagues, those favoring the status quo, and even from the president himself, as the ABRI's supreme commander. [37]

F. CONCLUSION

The era of 1965 to 1978 was known as the era of the military superiority with the support of Suharto as the president. Implementation of dual function, especially the political role, involved the military deeply in social and political matters and ended up strengthening the economic and political position of Suharto. This era was marked by the emphasis on the security approach over the prosperity approach without regard for the peoples' aspirations. Anyone who had a different opinion from the government or ABRI

[36] Ibid., pages 398-399
[37] David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, page 99.

could easily be accused of opposing development and Pancasila. They could also be accused of subversion and communist influence. As a consequence, the government and ABRI easily put sanctions without judicial process on people who differed from the approach of the government or ABRI. The limitation of peoples' political aspirations and the stagnation of civilian careers arose from a security approach that had gone too far. This situation and conditions did not promote civil society or its participation in government.

IV. GENERATIONAL CHANGES AND MILITARY CHALLENGES TO SUHARTO 1978-MID 1980s

The heyday of the military in Indonesia's political life was from 1966 until late 1978, after which it started to decline and its relationship with Suharto decreased. Apparently, he pushed the military aside and kept the power only for himself. Suharto was proving that he was in full control of the military by ignoring them and even starting to civilianize his government and to put only military loyalists in important positions rather than military professionals. Not all of the military professionals liked the way Suharto and some of his loyalists led the nation; in fact, they began to question ABRI's dual function. ABRI's 'Dual Function' had been distorted and had deviated from its original meaning. Because it led the military to go too far with its intervention in social political and economic matters. Furthermore, as the result of generational change in the military, some of the new officers preferred professionalism instead.

This chapter will provide an overview of the debate about ABRI's dual function among the military officers, civilian, and Suharto himself during the 1978-mid-1980s. I will also examine how some officers started to challenge Suharto over his uses of the military to keep his power. Finally, I will examine how Suharto managed the challenge from these officers and remained in control of the military.

A. CHALLENGING ABRI'S DUAL FUNCTION

At the time of the 1977 general elections, there were conflicting views within the armed forces about the military role in the electoral process. The military pragmatists,

Suharto's loyalists, wanted to take steps to ensure a successful election and maintenance of stability. They especially wanted to help Golkar (the ruling party) to win the election. Other officers believed that if ABRI backed up Golkar, it would be contradictory to the doctrines of the late General Sudirman that the armed forces were not the property of any one group of the society but of the nation as a whole.

In February 1978, Colonel Abdulkadir Besar, a close friend of General (retired) Nasution, released a "SESKOAD (Army Command and Staff College) Paper" about ABRI 'Dual Function' doctrine. He put Indonesia's civil-military relationship in a unique position. The bases of his view was cultural values, with every member of the family responsible for the family welfare. Thus, a member of Indonesia Armed Forces (ABRI) would be not only responsible for the defense problems, but also for the economics, culture, and politics of the nation. He also stressed that ABRI could not adopt a partisan perspective. He reminded "We can indeed imagine the dangers (of) an armed force participating in politics along with other social forces which are unarmed."[38]

Beside the "SESKOAD Paper," in January 1978 a TNI (Indonesia National Soldier) studies and communication forum (or FOSKO-TNI) was declared, which had many retired generals as members. FOSKO-TNI released a "Work Paper" that expressed their views about 'Dual Function'. Furthermore, on May 20, 1978, a work paper, which was titled "*TNI and its Dual Function*," had been sent to the Army Chief of Staff, General Widodo. The paper gave a recommendation: even though the concept of 'Dual Function' is logically reasonable in certain national struggles, 'Dual Function' has to be reconsidered and reevaluated. In general, the "FOSKO-TNI paper" and

[38] David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, p. 64.

"SESKOAD Paper" were similar. These papers recommended that the concept and application of the 'Dual Function' should be reevaluated, and ABRI has to stand for every group and not take sides for any single group.

On September 14, 1978, FOSKO-TNI released another work paper; the title is "Functional group and its problems." This paper urged ABRI to withdraw its active support for GOLKAR (the ruling party). Moreover, in the year 1979, the Army Chief of Staff, General Widodo, also released the "Widodo Paper." Besides addressing the 'Dual Function' debate this paper predicted the ABRI would withdraw from executive government.[39] It also predicted a decrease of ABRI participation in non-military activities, and an increase in civilians in executive government. It argued that ABRI's only consideration should be to make sure that any party who was in power had to develop the country on the 1945 constitution and Pancasila bases. If the governing party obstructed these principles, ABRI would take action against them.

The Minister of Defense and Security/Armed Forces Commander in Chief, General Jusuf, appointed in March 1978, also emphasized the importance of the people and ABRI being unified. He also called on ABRI to soften its 'Dual Function' mission. He advised military officials to be fair in the relationship with the political parties. In April 1979, he clarified his attitude toward dual function by releasing a statement that ABRI is not a protector of a single group in the society but protector of all groups in the society. In February 1979, the Minister of Defense announced that ABRI mostly would not interfere in political parties, even decreasing its influence toward Golkar. In July

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[39] *Dwi Fungsi ABRI*: (Konsep 1979), (Jakarta: Departemen Pertahanan dan Keamanan, Markas Besar Tentara Nasional Indonesia, Angkatan Darat, 1979) Cited from Bilveer Singh, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI: The Dual Function*, p. 162.

1979, Jusuf was asked whether the military had not "gone too far" with the dual function. "I would not use the term 'going too far,'" he answered, "but we should be much more moderate."[40] All political parties including Golkar appreciated this action.

Along with the "SESKOAD Paper", "FOSKO-TNI Papers," "Widodo Paper," and General Jusuf announcements, many retired Generals started to openly criticize 'Dual Function.' Lt. General (retired) Ali Sadikin, the former Governor of Jakarta, repeated his statement that ABRI's policy is to protect Pancasila and 1945 constitution. Another retired general, General Soemitro, former Commander of Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (KOPKAMTIB), said there is a need to change the relationship between ABRI and other social political groups, including the placement of ABRI's personnel on non-military duty. He also asked ABRI to go back to its original role and, if possible, to correct the mistakes that they made previously.

B. SUHARTO'S REACTION

As a reaction to the criticism to the dual function, on March 27, 1980, in the Armed forces commander meeting in Pekanbaru, President Suharto attacked his critics. He said: "before the new order was born, we saw and sensed that our national ideology was submerged by various existing ideologies, whether it was Marxism, Leninism, Communism, Socialism, Marhaenism (movement to fight for the interests of the have-nots under former president Sukarno), Nationalism, or religion."[41] In order to prove their superiority, they made endless rebellions. From this situation arose the new order

[40] Quoted in David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, p. 139.
[41] President Soeharto's speech at Pekanbaru, March 27, 1980, *Tempo*, June 14, 1980. Cited in David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, pages 157-158.

government. The determination of new order was to make a total correction of the drift away from Pancasila and 1945 constitution. According to Suharto, there was a certain "party or group that does not yet trust Pancasila 100 percent" and "as long as we could not succeed in bringing [this group] to their senses we must always step up our vigilance, choose partners, friends who are truly defend Pancasila have no doubts whatsoever in Pancasila."[42] For these reasons, Suharto announced that ABRI had to "select friends that will support the Pancasila" and declared that ABRI and Golkar could not separate; then, it was a clear statement that ABRI have to support Golkar in the next election.

Suharto also worried about the groups that wanted to change the 1945 constitution. He said in Pekanbaru that if two-thirds of the members of MPR wanted to change the constitution, then it was ABRI's duty to use 'their weapons' to stop them. But, "instead of using their weapons to change of the 1945 constitution and Pancasila, it is better to kidnap one person from the two-third members who want to make the change, because with two third members minus one, it is illegal according to the 1945 constitution."[43]

After Suharto's speech, "HANKAM (Department of Defense and Security) Paper" had been prepared, to strike back the paper's critics. The purpose of the "HANKAM Paper" was to state that dual function had to continue and to strengthen it. This paper showed that ABRI's grip in the high political and military systems would not change. Nevertheless, "HANKAM Paper" in some senses accommodates the critics of dual function. The paper agrees that ABRI has to give up some civilian jobs and be more selective and sensitive in posting ABRI personnel outside the Department of Defense.

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

Suharto made a comment about this paper, "In principle, 'Dual Function' has to be continued, but it has to improve its application in a better way."[44]

As we look at this, in the beginning of the 80s, there was some debate within ABRI about dual function. There were two dominant positions, the first was a group of Generals who believed that ABRI had to use a lower profile approach, give up some of its positions and privileges, and stand neutral in national politics. Second was a group favoring the status quo, who believed from experience that the professional approach would not be good for the country. For this group, ABRI had to be fully involved in dual function implementation; ABRI could not be neutral in the nation's politics, and for of this reason ABRI had to co-operate with various partners within the society. After Suharto's speech in Pekanbaru, this group had dominant position in the government.

C. THE GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN ABRI

By the mid 1980s, the Suharto's military colleagues from the 1945 generation retired, and new leaders, educated in the professional military academy, took over their positions. Some of these officers had a number of core principles: the stability of the nation was the first priority, and any threats to national unity must eliminated at all costs. The loyalists used these principles as to secure the position of Suharto and keep him in power. But other military officers already had doubts about supporting Suharto without limits. Furthermore, they shared the opinion that Suharto's domination in the political process was not conducive to political stability, economic development, and national

[44] David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, p 170.

unity. These officers were preoccupied with several issues that might bring about national disintegration.

There issues included: the wide gap between the poor and the rich, politicization Islam religion, collusion, corruption, nepotism, and anti-Chinese sentiment. They believed that Suharto was not really trying to solve these matters; furthermore, he might have contributed to these problems. Although many retired generals expressed these concerns openly, active duty officers were not so brave. These active duty officers feared they would not only lose their jobs, but there might be possibilities that they would treated as dissidents as well. "The feeling in ABRI that Suharto has to go is widespread," said Lieutenant General (ret.) Hasnan Habib, a former ambassador to the US. "Even younger officers like Colonel and Lieutenant Colonels share this view."[45]

Despite of his abuse of power, Suharto still received respect from the military. In the new order period, the military as an institution had served him willingly. Suharto himself was a military man, and he was rescuing Indonesia from economical and political chaos. Under his presidency, no big tensions arose from ethnicity and religion that could threaten national unity. Moreover, after it had experienced factional competition for power under former President Sukarno, ABRI under the new order was relatively unified. For many, the most important thing was that the officers who were really loyal to Suharto and satisfied him would get a prosperous life, wealth, position and protection from any accusations made by civil society.[46]

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[45] Adam Schwarz, quotation, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), p 282.
[46] Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, p 282.

D. ABRI SIDELINED

There are several reasons why the relationship between the military and Suharto declined in the mid-1980s. One was that Suharto moved some economic power from ABRI to his Chinese friends and to his family as well. He felt that he was safer if Indonesian businesses were under his full command, since he knew that his Chinese friends and his family would not dare to betray him because they were totally dependent on his power. The end of the booming of oil prices also required significant economic reform, raising the stature of civilian economic 'technocrats.' Suharto kept restraining ABRI's influence over their budget. To spend more than $200,000 required cabinet secretariat consent, thus, all major economic activity within ABRI was under control of members of the economic board council. These situations shifted some power from the military to technocrats, conglomerates, and Suharto's children. Although there were still important positions left to military officers, it was obvious that the military had begun to lose their grip.[47]

The other factor that weakened the relationship between the military and Suharto was that Suharto did not really need military support anymore. Many times, Suharto showed that he could disregard military political opinions. In 1988, Suharto ignored the military's strongly-worded advice and picked Sudharmono to be his vice-president. Sudharmono actively reduced ABRI's political influence by undermining their financial strength and influence over government bureaucracy. He maintained his access to Suharto and set up civilian patronage through appointments to the bureaucracy and contracts for the business community. Furthermore, Suharto continued to reduce ABRI's

[47] Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, (St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1996), p 211.

position in his cabinet, and if there were still some military officers there, only a few held an important position. Some analysts said that Suharto wanted to show other political groups that he did not rely on ABRI's power to keep his power and rule the country. At this point, everybody realized that Suharto was the only power in Indonesia that could control and disregard every group in the Indonesian politics.

Many ABRI's officers were dissatisfied with the current situation. One retired General state: "Only Suharto has the power to get anything done in Indonesia." And "ABRI is very weak, and subservient to Suharto. We just implemented what he wanted us to do," said Lieutenant General (ret.) Hasnan Habib. Sayidiman Suryohadiproyo, another retired General said, "Suharto no longer listens to anyone, not ABRI nor anyone else. This is the danger we are facing."[48] Although it could not be seen in ABRI's overt stances, ABRI fought back against Suharto's policies.[49]

Gradually, ABRI was side lined. Their role was increasingly defined as protecting the interests of the state rather than the nation. Many officers were concerned that close identification with Suharto was distancing the ABRI as an institution away from the community. They felt ABRI should be closer to the people, rather than maintain close relation to Suharto and play an important role in his military praetorian regime. They demanded that ABRI position itself above party politics and alongside the people. Although Suharto's leaving office was desirable, sudden political change could pose a threat to stability.

Thus, the military's plan was to persuade Suharto to step down gradually and allow his vice president to continue his term. This plan led the military to nominate their

[48] Quoted in Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, page 284
[49] Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting* , p 284.

own candidate to become vice president, which would ensure effective control of the state. This effort was successful, but the military made a miscalculation about Suharto's feelings about leaving office and giving it to his vice president. After the military succeeded putting its man in the position of vice president, Suharto still served his full term in office. Furthermore, Suharto accepted another term and chose as his possible successor B.J. Habibie, a civilian technocrat.

E. CONCLUSION

There was some disagreement between the military and Suharto in the 1978 to mid-1980s era. Some of these officers were marked as dissidents. They had bad experiences in business and financial matters and in their professional jobs as well. All those in power had shared with Suharto the feeling that the sidelined generals were driven by envy. They approved in Suharto's position because they believed that most of them would do the same if they were in his position.

However, Suharto and his loyalists generals had the view that military involvement in government had to decrease, to be replaced by civilians. However, Suharto selected only his loyalists, cronies, or even his family to replace the military officers in the bureaucracy, ruling party (Golkar), and other important positions.

V. SUHARTO CONSOLIDATES POWER MID 1980s-1998

After Suharto felt that one of his sources of power, the military as an institution, did not unanimously support him, he began to consolidate his power on an alternative basis. He removed military officers who disagreed with him and put only his loyalists or his cronies and family in important social and political positions. Moreover, Suharto built a new pillar to support his regime, the Moslem groups, which had strong influence in the society, and he asked his protégé, B.J. Habibie, to form an organization to provide leadership for them. He urged all his supporters to join in this organization and influenced society to accept the organization as the legitimate representative of Moslems. As a result, the military lost influence and only become his tool to implement his policies.

This chapter shows how Suharto disregarded and ignored the military by not favoring their policies. He also created a new pillar for supporting his power, organized Islam, and asked Habibie to establish the organization to lead it. Moreover, he reorganized the ruling party, Golkar, to fulfill his requirements. I will examine also how Suharto put his family and cronies in other important places, where they could support him. Finally, I will examine how Suharto, who held very strong power in his hands, could possibly be overthrown by student demonstrations.

A. UNFAVORABLE ABRI

ABRI was very displeased with Suharto when he chose Sudharmono, chairman of the ruling party, Golkar, as his vice president for the 1988-93 term. Murdani, Commander in Chief of ABRI at that time, was strongly opposed to Suharto's decision to

choose Sudharmono, and he got the consequences from what he had done. Suharto removed him from the position as Commander in Chief of ABRI, and reassigned him as Minister of Department Defense and Security, a position that was less powerful than the previous position. Murdani also convinced his successor, General Try Sutrisno, to take action within ABRI and make the announcement that ABRI nominated Sutrisno to become Vice President. But Sutrisno did not dare to do what his senior advised him, possibly because at that time he was still new in his position. The military also spread the rumor that Sudharmono was a member of the organization affiliated to the Indonesian Communist Party to stop his rise to the position of Vice President. The military continued to fight against Sudharmono, who was more a civilian figure than a military one. It placed military representatives in some two-thirds of Golkar's provincial chairmanships. The military succeeded in their mission to replace Sudharmono in his position as the Golkar Chairman and put Lieutenant General (ret.) Wahono in the position. Wahono was known as a Suharto loyalist but did not have ambitions for power. Thus, it was not a real victory for ABRI because this outcome might be good for Suharto as well, since he did not like ambitious people working under his command.[50]

B. INSUBORDINATION

In 1989, inside the legislative assembly, some members of the parliament that came from ABRI's faction started a debate on political openness. Although there was no proof of direct involvement of the military in this matter, it was obvious that some elements of military were looking to change Indonesia's political system. Suharto was

[50] Adam Schwarz, *Nation in Waiting*, pages 273-274.

very displeased with this "insubordination." Major General Sembiring and Major General Samsudin were replaced and Brigadier General Roekmini was not re-appointed in 1992. They were all ABRI representatives in the legislative assembly.[51]

The "limited battle" between military and Suharto continued. Both of them were preparing for the next party and national elections. Under Wahono, it was not surprising that Golkar electoral support decreased. Many reasons caused the decline, but some of the fundamental reasons were: Tommy's, Suharto's son, clove business that hurt an important group of voters, the clove farmers, and the success of the Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI), which employed Sukarno's children in their campaign. But many of the political elite believed that military had been involved in the result.

As the people's assembly approached in March 1993, two factions within Golkar fought silently for the position of vice president. One of the factions supported B.J Habibie and the other supported Try Sutrisno. At this point, nobody was sure who Suharto would choose to accompany him for the 1993-98 presidential term as Vice President. Many believed that Suharto might favor Sutrisno. Sutrisno was a former Suharto adjutant, and he was also close to Suharto's children. On the other hand, Suharto might also favor his Minister of Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie. Everybody knew that Suharto was really pleased with Habibie. Many strategic industries were given to Habibie, even the industries that previously belonged to the military like the Army Industry Center (PINDAD), National Aircraft Industry (IPTN), and Naval Shipyard (PAL).[52]

[51] Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, p 187.
[52] Ibid., pages 35-38.

A few weeks before the assembly began, ABRI took a big step nominating Sutrisno for Vice President. This action was a fait accompli against Suharto and backed him into a corner, because he had not made his own decision yet. Some analysts said this action had been taken because ABRI feared that they would not succeed in convincing Suharto to choose Sutrisno. They predicted that Suharto would step down before finishing his 1993-98 term, which later proved incorrect. ABRI was afraid that it might be possible for Suharto to choose Habibie or retain Sudharmono in his position. Other factions gradually gave their support to Sutrisno's nomination. Although Suharto accepted this nomination, it was clear that he was unhappy with ABRI. Suharto retaliated by dropping some military members from their current positions.[53]

C. THE DISAGREEMENT CONTINUES

Another arena that showed the limited battle between ABRI and Suharto was the election for the Chairman of Golkar. Although ABRI dominated the positions of the Golkar chairmen provincially, its influence was doubtful, since the real power in Golkar was Suharto. Suharto, as head of Golkar's patronage, had very powerful influence that could appoint every position in the party, even dismissing the whole organization. Suharto let B.J. Habibie manage the Golkar congress, disregarding all views from the party's delegates, and choose a civilian candidate, Harmoko as its leader. Harmoko, a politician who had a popular reputation as a flatterer, had long served as Minister of Information. Then, ABRI's entire list of candidates failed to achieve prestigious positions inside Golkar. However, just because Golkar was under Harmoko, a civilian, it

[53] Adam Schwarz, *Nation in Waiting*, page 286

did not mean there would be more democracy in Golkar or in the country. Around 45 of the new members of executive board were Suharto loyalists, including his children. Suharto's daughter became the Vice-Chairman and his son became party treasurer of Golkar.

Major General Sembiring commented on Golkar's elections in this period, "Golkar could not win elections without ABRI's support, Habibie and Harmoko were only Suharto's puppet and would swept aside when he was not in control, and ABRI would not give up the presidency to civilian."[54] The bottom line of Sembiring's statement was his disappointment with Suharto, who ignored ABRI suggestions regarding the nomination of Golkar's chairman.

ABRI gradually lost its influence in economics and politics to Suharto. Instead, Habibie got more power from Suharto to run his own government department and Golkar. Habibie even had a disagreement with ABRI when the government decided to purchase 39 vessels from the former East German Navy. The vessels were worn out, technologically obsolete, and they would cost more than new ones. The disagreement was not only about the condition of the vessels, but about Habibie taking authority from the Department of Defense and ABRI headquarters over their budget and policies. Moreover, Habibie also had a mandate for defense and security considerations in his big project in Natuna Island.[55]

[54] Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, p 214.
[55] Ibid., p 19.

D. SHIFTING POWER

In early 1990s, Suharto felt that pressure from the reformers and their ABRI sympathizers had increased. Therefore, Suharto made an effort to associate his regime with Moslem organizations that had been previously shunted aside by government. Suharto knew that these organizations had loyal and strong mass bases. Thus, the numerous Moslems that had been demobilized before would now be remobilized. Moreover, even though Suharto did not come from a good Moslem family, he went to Mecca on pilgrimage. He undertook pilgrimage with a lot of publicity to gain sympathy from Moslems. Furthermore, he asked Habibie to organize the Indonesia Moslem Intellectual organization (ICMI) and open a Moslem bank. These actions certainly made the military uncomfortable, fearing the politicization of Moslem society.[56] Thereafter, Suharto asked Habibie to give him some advice to put some ICMI's fellows in the government and ABRI. Suharto appointed a General who affiliated with Islam as Commander in Chief ABRI (C in C) replacing the previous reformist Commander. He also appointed another Moslem as Army Chief of Staff, replacing the previous General, who had thought that Suharto had held power for too long.[57]

The new Commander in Chief reorganized Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS), which had great influence in previous times, reduced its influence and renamed it the ABRI Intelligence Agency (BIA). He also replaced its chief with an officer who had pro-Islamic orientation. While the C in C replaced some of the ABRI's headquarter personnel with his fellow Moslems, the Army Chief of Staff also did the same thing in the Army. Moreover, he broke the ABRI's doctrine of neutrality regarding political

[56] Ibid., page 36.
[57] Ibid., pages 189-190 and 199.

parties by wearing Golkar's yellow jacket when the party held rallies. Many political analysts argued that his behavior was caused by Suharto's concern over the decline of ABRI's support for Golkar and indicated that ABRI would be subordinated to Golkar. Many ABRI officers were shocked with the Army Chief of Staff's actions, but they could not do anything because of his close relation with Suharto's daughter, who was one of the Golkar Chairmen.[58]

One of the main reasons why Suharto could easily control the military was because he was able to develop patronage loyalties among some officers. It was well-known during this time that officers who had very good careers must have come from certain positions, such as adjutant or presidential guard, who served near the president. Thus, Suharto continued to shape the military to protect his interests.

E. SUHARTO'S FAMILY ECONOMIC EMPORIUM

The government's policy of economic deregulation after 1983 made it possible for Suharto's family to conquer many very profitable areas for their business. They achieved some monopolies from the new deregulation, using some nationalist and social interest arguments to justify it. They argued that these monopolies were a transfer of business from the Chinese to the indigenous people, which they have presented. Actually their involvement was worsening the Indonesian economy. For instance, Suharto's youngest son was in charge of a monopoly on the sale and distribution of cloves. The main purpose of the monopoly was to protect the farmer from the buyers, the big cigarette companies, who used intimidation to lower prices. But the agency, which was

[58] Ibid., pages 211-212.

running this monopoly, made the situation worse. The floor for the price for the cloves was lowered, but the selling price to cigarette companies stayed high, allowing the agency to profit.[59]

Suharto was very displeased about criticism of his family's involvement in business. Although the situation was highly critical for the nation's stability, few government officials dared to raise this issue with Suharto. Benny Murdani, Commander in Chief of Armed Forces, was one of the officials who tried, but he paid the consequences. He made the mistake of challenging Suharto's favorite for the Vice Presidency, Sudharmono, and complaining about Suharto's unrestrained greed of his children in the business.[60] As a result, he had been transferred from his job, as Commander in Chief of the Armed forces to become Minister of Defense, which was less important job at that time.

F. SUHARTO'S RE ELECTION

In March 1998 Indonesia's 1,000-member People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) re-elected President Suharto and chose B.J. Habibie as the vice president. The nation's three recognized political parties and the military nominated only Habibie, Suharto's choice. "The fact that Mr. Habibie is the one and only nominee for vice president indicates very, very strongly that Suharto is sill in control of the whole Indonesian politics," said Amien Rais, a Muslim leader in the predominantly Muslim country. As for Suharto, he was the only candidate for the presidency, and he had

[59] Michael R.J. Vatikiotis, *Indonesian Politics Under Suharto*, (New York: Routledge, 1994), pages 152-154

[60] Adam Schwarz, *Nation in Waiting* , page 146.

directly or indirectly appointed every member of the MPR. "In the last 30 years, Indonesians have lost their basic courage and that is to say no. They are like ducks," said political analyst Loekman Sutrisno about the MPR members. Suharto had no challengers, because the assembly was built mostly of Suharto family members and cronies and they had been placed under a tightly controlled political system created by Suharto.[61]

G. SUHARTO STEPS DOWN

When Indonesia was hit by crisis in July 1997, Indonesia sought aid from the IMF. Then, World Bank pledged US$4.5 billion for a 3-year program and IMF approved a $10-billion loan as part of the international package. However, the Indonesian currency, the Rupiah, continued to plunge from 2500 to the US dollar before the crisis until it hit 16,000 for a US dollar in February 1998. The financial crisis devastated Indonesia's economy and triggered a political firestorm, with riots growing in number and angered residents shifting blame onto President Suharto's regime. Police and soldiers were called out on the island of Sulawesi and eastern Java to put down riots protesting higher food and fuel prices. The steep drop triggered a crisis of confidence that quickly spread beyond economics to politics. Daily demonstrations called for Suharto to step down at the end of his term in March 1998.

After Suharto was elected for his seventh 5-year presidential term, a new cabinet was announced, which included his daughter, "Tutut," and several close businesses

[61] "Indonesian assembly set to re-elect Suharto, His choice for V.P. is controversial," *CNN Interactive*, available at http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9802/27/indonesia/index.html

associates. These announcements showed that Suharto did not understand the political aspects, but thought the crisis hit Indonesia purely because of economic matters.

There were several incidents that led up to Suharto's resignation: On May 12, six students and a dozen others were injured in student demonstrations in Trisakti University, Jakarta. As the result, on May 13-15 riots spread in Jakarta, with an estimated 1180 dead. On May 18 People's Consultative Assembly Speaker Harmoko called on Suharto to resign. Gen. Wiranto, Commander in Chief of the armed forces/Minister of Defense and security, called it an "illegal" request and he said that it was an individual announcement, and objected to the DPR/MPR press release. On May 19 Suharto delivered a speech pledging to step down after appointing a special reform council to draft new laws for parliamentary elections. At the same time, students took over the parliamentary complex and remained in there for three nights. On May 20, 14 individuals, led by coordinating Minister for the Economy, Finance and Industry Ginanjar Kartasasmita, refused appointment as ministers in a restructured cabinet.

On May 21, 1998, Suharto announced his resignation and his Vice President, B.J. Habibie, replaced him. Immediately after his resignation and the inauguration of the new President, General Wiranto pledged military support of Habibie and vowed to protect Suharto and his family. Habibie tried to work fast to respond to the students' and peoples' demands, and he announced a new cabinet. Suharto's daughter "Tutut" and crony "Bob" Hasan were both dropped; Ginandjar retained his position as Coordinating Minister for Economy, and Wiranto remained as Minister of Defense. But the opposition and students were not satisfied yet. They considered that Habibie only led a transitional government and they asked for an early election, which could bring reformation and

transition to democracy. Finally, Habibie announced that fresh elections would be held in 1999.[62]

[62] "Key Events of the Indonesian Crisis," *The World Bank Group*, available at http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/offrep/eap/invents.htm

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VI. REFORMATION ERA AND NEW MILITARY PARADIGM

On 22 October 1999, the People's consultative assembly (MPR), which members came from the first free and democratic election in 32 years, chose Abdurrahman Wahid to become the fourth President of the Indonesian Republic. The assembly also chose Megawati to become Vice President. They will serve the country for a 5-year term. Both persons were well known as fighters for democracy and came from the sidelined groups that had experienced hard times in the Suharto era.

The composition of the cabinet of President Abdurahman Wahid showed his effort to accommodate the parties that have significant numbers of its members in parliament. There are 35 ministers, including the attorney general and the Commander in Chief of ABRI/TNI. Beside the parties' interests, Wahid also considered regional and military interests. There are four active officers and one retired officer in five ministerial positions, besides the position of Commander in Chief itself, which has equal power with other ministers.

A. NEW PARADIGM

As a consequence of the reformation, as Indonesians refer to democratization, ABRI had to change its doctrine. Some of ABRI's officers became demoralized, but some of them, who represented the reformist wing, had the opportunity to formulate new guidelines for ABRI's approach to reform. The most important task was to prevent the military's involvement in day to day politics and to establish a right and proper civil-military relationship in Indonesia. In July 1999, the Commander in Chief, General

Wiranto, announced ABRI's new paradigm, and in September, a seminar was held in Bandung and attended by most senior officers, as well as prominent retired officers and civilians. The new paradigm consisted of four points:

1. Change positions and methods to one where (ABRI) is not necessarily in the forefront.
2. Change from the concept of occupying to influencing.
3. Change in the method of influencing from direct to indirect means.
4. Readiness to engage in political role-sharing (joint decision-making in the case of important national and government issues) with other components of the nation.

In explaining the need for the new paradigm, the officers who attended the seminar suggested that ABRI's social-political role had expanded too much during the New Order. The report on the Bandung seminar mentioned that the concept of dual function had been unable to anticipate the possibility that the presidency would be held by a person from the military who had a the direct position in the command structure. This individual was then likely to use his influence over the command structure for his own social-political interests.[63]

Such was the case of Suharto: ABRI became his Trojan Horse and tool for securing and defending Suharto's interests. He could use his position as the ABRI's Supreme Commander, which should have been only a symbolic position, in a very powerful manner.

[63] "Hasil seminar ABRI: Pada Acara Seminar di Sesko ABRI Bulan September 1998," *TNI-Net*, available at http://www.abri.mil.id/

The deviation and distortion of the dual function concept from its original concept brought confusion to society. The people confused dual function with 'kekaryaan' (placing of ABRI persons in civilian positions) and were concerned that the role allowed ABRI to take over proper functions of other institutions, giving priority to its own interests and harming the positions of others. This also brought ABRI to neglect its own main responsibilities. The report from the seminar suggest that 'kekaryaan' role of ABRI would change as ABRI emphasized indirect influence rather than direct occupation of positions in civil administration. In the past, ABRI members were placed in civilian positions because of a vacuum in civilian bureaucratic leadership, but this led to friction and discontent with civilians. In the future, the placing of ABRI personnel in positions outside ABRI would be on the basis of capacity and capability. Military officers in bureaucratic positions would no longer be representatives of the ABRI as an institution, but simply the best man for the job. In the future, one of ABRI's tasks would be to actively participate in developing democracy and bringing Indonesian society toward a civil society in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.[64]

B. PROBLEMS OF CIVILIAN CONTROL

Dr Kusnanto Anggoro and Dr. Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, political observers, gave their opinion in the discussion held by Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, February 10th 2000, that the civil-military relationship of Indonesia is still based on suspicion. To stabilize the relationship, this has to end. According to Bhakti, distrust between civilians and the military could be observed since the beginning of the

[64] Media Indonesia, 12 November 1998.

democratic parliamentary system in 1950s until present. After Suharto stepped down, a tendency of civilian retaliation towards the military began to appear. As an example, Ikrar pointed to parliamentary examination of the military budget, which is needed by TNI to carry out its function of defense and has not been a popular issue recently. Civilians have a suspicion that the increase of military budget will be used to kill, abduct, and hurt people.[65]

According to Kusnanto, civil society in Indonesia wants to expedite civilian supremacy over the nation's institutions. However, neither civilians nor the military are prepared to work and find the best solution to make it happen. Within the military there is no clarity regarding the future of 'Dual Function'. On the other hand, there are not enough civilian personnel who have sufficient expertise to deal with defense and military matters. Thus, building mutual trust between civilian and military is the most important task at this moment. The definition of civilian supremacy in Indonesia has deviated, because it is only used to justify retaliation by civilians towards the military. Actually, civilian supremacy is based on civil rights, and it is not only for civilians. The military as a person has civil rights as well, such as right of religion, right to vote in elections, and obeying the law.[66]

In his first one hundred days, Wahid's government, which had been established in the most democratic process in Indonesia since 1945, made its move in initiating civilian control over the military. Wahid's policy of supporting Indonesia's Commission of Inquiry on human rights violation in East Timor after the referendum (KPP HAM Timor)

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[65] "Penggantian Pejabat TNI oleh Presiden Cermin Pertarungan Otoritas dalam Hubungan Sipil-Militer," *Kompas Online*, available at http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0001/15/nasional/cerm03.htm

[66] Ibid.

was one example. Moreover, he asked his Coordinating Minister of political and security affairs, General Wiranto, to resign temporarily as a consequence of the investigation. Some observers considered that Wahid's direct appointment of some high-ranking officers to fill ABRI/TNI leadership positions was inappropriate civilian involvement in military affairs. However, it is understandable if that involvement is for the sake of reformation and democracy in a transitional era.[67]

TNI, the new name of ABRI after the reformation era and after the police were split off, has realized the importance of civilian supremacy over the military after more countries in the region, in which its military play an important role, have implemented it. The obedience of the military to President Wahid was not only because of his efforts, but was also a result of the Suharto era. As we can see from the previous chapter, the military was not capable of challenging Suharto. He was ABRI's Supreme Commander, and they could not do anything except to obey his orders. In the Wahid era, the military's obedient behavior has continued. This reflected in the statement of Territorial Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General Agus Widjoyo, who said that the President, as TNI's Supreme Commander, has powers limited only to national defense policy. Thus, the President should not use his authority over TNI for his own political agenda, as is written in section 10 of the 1945 Constitution. If the ruler uses TNI for his personal power and personal political purposes, then in would be considered as a violation of the constitution. On the other hand, TNI has to obey the legitimate elected government.[68]

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[67] "Satu-satunya Inovasi Gus Dur: Supremasi Sipil atas Militer," *Kompas Online*, available at http://wwwkompas.com/kompas-cetak/0002/08/nasional/peke20.htm.
[68] Media Indonesia – politics and security, 18 April 2000.

C. CURRENT SITUATION

In April 2000, TNI held a conference among its leaders, which is a routine activity every year, to consult about the situations that would challenge the organization in the future. The conference was held in TNI's headquarters, Cilangkap. 146 TNI officers were involved. The conference had several speakers such as Minister of Defense, Minister of Finance, Minister of State, State Minister of Region Autonomy, State Minister of Human Rights, and Chief of National Police. Within the TNI, the Commander in Chief and all of the Chiefs of Staff gave speeches. The conference produced a progressive decision to eliminate TNI's social-political role and its security function, which had become TNI's role for decades. It was considered a progressive decision because it gave a clear answer that the dual function concept was eliminated. This diminished the hesitation that many civilians' felt about the sincerity of the military in leaving its social-political role. Thus, TNI was successful in leaving its practical role in politics through its own internal reforms. However, there are still some problems left. For example, the House of Representatives (DPR) has to change the laws that guarantee the military seats in parliament.[69]

A good civil military relation for Indonesia is one that differentiates the role and function of military and non-military institutions. The President, as the head of the nation, has the authority over the military, especially during mobilization of troops, through the Minister of Defense and the Commander in Chief. But, during the peacetime, intervention from the President had to be limited in order to maintain professionalism. Currently, there is still intervention from the President in the

[69] Media Indonesia – headline news, 23 April 2000.

assignment of high-ranking officers. Moreover, TNI has not left its social political role yet. There are still thirty-eight officers that represent the military in the House of Representatives, and ten percent of the regional Representatives are military. This means that democratic civil-military relations have not yet been achieved.

Under President Abdurrahman Wahid, TNI as an institution has undertaken some reforms. These have been facilitated by several appointments of higher ranking officers who would accept reforms. There are also officers who are against reformation but most of them keep quiet. Some of these officers are more worried about their family's welfare than opposing reform.[70]

President Abdurrahman Wahid dismissed General Wiranto on 14 February 2000 after an official inquiry linked the officer to mass violence last year in East Timor. Earlier that day, an Indonesian inquiry recommended that six generals, including former military chief Wiranto, face possible prosecution over the violence that erupted after East Timor voted for independence from Indonesia last August. At that time, Wiranto served as Wahid's Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs. Wahid signed a decree retiring Wiranto and three other military officers in his cabinet from the armed forces, with effect on March 31, 2000. Other generals included the former head of the Bali-based Udayana military command, which oversaw East-Timor under Indonesian rule, and the former head of military intelligence for East Timor. The other three were former military commanders of East Timor and the former police chief.[71] These actions

[70] "Hubungan Sipil dan Militer Diwarnai Aksi Balas Dendam," *Kompas Online*, available at http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0002/11/nasional/hubu06.htm

[71] Chris McCall, *Indonesia's President Wahid to Fire General*, Reuters, Monday January 31 9:46 AM ET, available at http://basisdata.esosoft.net/2000/01/0189.html

against powerful military leaders show that President Wahid has been able to develop some degree of control over the armed forces.

VII. CONCLUSION

Karen L. Remmer, in her book, *Military Rule in Latin America*, wrote: "Three decades of research have yielded little beyond a set of truisms. One truism is that the military acts to protect its institutional interests." If this was the case in Indonesia today, we would expect the military to dominate the policy making process to defend its interests. Many have also argued that the type of authoritarian regime influences the chances for success of a new democracy. If Indonesia was a military regime under Suharto, we would expect a high degree of military resistance to democracy, particularly in the areas of defense policy and human rights.

A. SUMMARY

Looking back at the history of Indonesia, there has been the important role of ABRI, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Forces, in the struggle for freedom and the nation building. The failure of the coup by Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) on the 30th September made it possible for Suharto to successfully introduce a formal the social-political role of the military 1965-1978 known as the era of military superiority. The military became deeply involved in social and political matters including implementation of 'Dual Function,' this also strengthened the economical and political position of Suharto and sustained his regime.

ABRI became a central actor in government until 1978. However, between 1978 and mid 1980s, the disagreement arose between the military and Suharto resulting in the marginalization of the military power as an institution. ABRI lost its authority and became a power tool for Suharto's regime. The role of pioneering in the development of

nation finished. Suharto increasingly civilianized his formerly military regime. The military lost whatever independence it might have exercised before. By the end of his regime, Suharto presided over a civilian authoritarian regime.

When the pressure from military reformers and their ABRI sympathizers increased in 1990s, Suharto began to remobilize people by approaching Moslem organizations to assure his position, knowing that these organizations had loyal and strong masses support. These actions certainly made the military uncomfortable, since they feared politicizing Indonesia's Moslem society. Suharto still controlled the military through patronage loyalties among some officers. Those who had successful military careers came from certain positions such as adjutant or presidential guard, positions that were near the president.

The economic crisis of 1997-1998 triggered political reformation and a transition to democracy. Suharto was forced to step down and B.J. Habibie, the civilian vice president, which Suharto chose in the last election, was his replacement. General Wiranto, Commander in Chief ABRI, pledged military support for Habibie and vowed to protect Suharto and family. Under popular pressure for reformation, Habibie act more democratically, although his decision on East Timor belied his authoritarian intentions. People were not satisfied with the new civilian president, and they considered the Habibie government as transitional. In the late 1998 people began to demand early elections, which could bring the reformation to completion.

In the coming election, Habibie nominated himself for president and Wiranto as his vice president. But General Wiranto declined to team up with Habibie, giving the

reason that his mission and duty was to remain neutral military man for the good of the country.

President BJ Habibie's speech in front of parliament on 19th October 1999 seeking reelection was rejected with 355 votes. The reasons for rejection were that Habibie had ignored the parliamentary bill (Tap MPR) on East Timor integration, failed to maintain national unity, was incapable of implementing a parliamentary bill against corruption, had tolerated cronyism and nepotism, and his inability to distance himself from status quo regime. On the following day, Habibie resigned as a presidential candidacy.

On 20th October 1999, in general assembly session, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as Indonesians 4th president for 1999 – 2004 with 373 of 619 votes. The following day, Megawati was elected as vice president.

B. DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDONESIA

In a transition to democracy, there are usually pacts between hard liners and moderates. Theses transitions usually involve a pact between the regime moderates and the opposition moderates who also represent their respective hard liners. Indonesia, which had a sultanistic type of government under Suharto, did not have a negotiated or pacted solution available as a transition path because of the absence of moderates. Moreover, there were no important figures who had any authority to lead the process for the transition in the regime, other than Suharto himself. "The immediate implications of a sultanistic regime for democracy are they will have begun the construction of civil society, and constitutionalism and a rule of law, professional norms of the bureaucracy,

economic society, and political institutions from every level."[72]In a sultanistic regime the opportunity for democratic transition come because a ruler is overthrown or assassinated, which might lead to the dynamics of provisional government and cause an early free election. This was the situation in Indonesia in 1997-98. The transition happened because of the sudden collapse of the non-democratic regime,[73] and it rapidly led to new elections. This meant:

1. Concentration of Power under Suharto

General Suharto was able to consolidate military power under his command between 1965 and 1985. With resulting centralization of power, the military was able to implement any kind of order from the authoritarian ruler. Suharto proved that he was in full control of the military by ignoring them, even starting to civilize his government and put only military loyalists in important positions rather than military professionals.

2. Rapid Transition

The military was not able to avoid the transition. In fact, they became the victim and main target of the reformation movement. This happened because Suharto had already subordinated the military and built his own civilian authoritarian regime. The military did not have any power other than what Suharto allowed. This situation enabled a quick transition to democracy.

3. Civil-Military Problems

The sudden collapse of authoritarian regime left a number of problems. One of the government systems that needs reform is the civil military relationship. This

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[72] Linz, Juan J. & Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996, p56.

[73] Ibid., pages 70-71

relationship was once handled by Suharto himself. He gave guidance on all military matters, including the budget, organization, promotions, and doctrine. Establishing new mechanisms to handle these matters in a democratic and efficient manner is one of the main challenges facing Indonesia.

C. FUTURE DIRECTION OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN INDONESIA

Following the transition to democracy, President Wahid has followed a policy of slowly eliminating military privileges and autonomy. Even though this policy has prevented overt military resistance, the new regime faces several challenges to establishing democratic civil-military relations.

1. Human Rights abuses

President Wahid dismissed General Wiranto on 14 February 2000 after an official inquiry linked the officer to mass violence last year in East Timor. Earlier on the same day, an Indonesian board of inquiry recommended that six generals, including former Commander in Chief Wiranto, face possible prosecution over the violence that erupted after East Timor voted for independence from Indonesia last August. The panel found evidence of mass killings and torture as well as attempts to tamper with evidence by removing bodies from graves in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and ruled in defiance of widespread local opposition until last year. The military has reason to be concerned, because if the probe into East Timor atrocities continues, they will either be investigated or indicted in domestic Indonesian trials. Or if they leave the country as some officers have, they will face a stricter trial abroad. If they try to stage a coup, it is too late, because now they have neither the support from the public nor within their own

ranks.[74] President Wahid is expected to apply his formula of forgiveness to quell the military's desire to rebel. Primarily, he wants to avoid bloodshed. As a result, the military as a political force will be severely weakened. If the Indonesian authorities wish to spare the nation international embarrassment, then they must live up to their own responsibilities in bringing these people to justice in Indonesia.

2. Institutionalizing Civilian Control

TNI accepted a civilian as Minister of Defense, because it thought that the civilian would help protect the military in the future. Although Juwono, the new civilian Minister of Defense has worked as ABRI's Vice Governor of National Defense Institutes (Lemhanas), he is not a military man and will not go to extreme lengths to protect the position of the military. One of the most important issues facing the new minister is eliminating TNI's role in the economy and securing state financing for the military budget. This is an entirely new phenomenon in Indonesian civil-military relations. It is not only a matter of TNI accepting this changes, but it also has to address the civilian government's willingness to fund a budget of considerable proportions.

3. Military Factionalization

Admiral Widodo was chosen to be commander of the armed forces, 26th October 1999, which opened a new chapter in TNI history commenced. Now, the commander of the armed forces is a naval officer who has no particular interest in defending the Army. The promotion of Adm. Widodo has been popular among civilians since the Indonesian Navy has been recognized as force interested in dialogue.[75] The Air Force is also

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[74] Chris McCall, *Indonesia's President Wahid to Fire General*, Reuters, Monday January 31 9:46 AM ET, available at http://basisdata.esosoft.net/2000/01/0189.html

[75] "Widodo AS, Panglima TNI Pertama dari Unsur Non Angkatan Darat," *Kompas Online*, available at http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/berita-terbaru/4759.html

distancing itself from Suharto by unearthing doubts about the 30th of September coup in 1965. In April 1999, Air Force commander, Marshal Hanafi Asnan, supported the efforts by Air Force retired officers to correct history regarding the infiltration of communists in the service just before 30th of September coup in 1965.[76] This shows that the transition to democracy has fragmented TNI.

4. Changing Military Doctrine

The Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) has said farewell to its role in society and politics, the cause of many problems in the past. Today, TNI states that it will concentrate on matters of defense alone. TNI Chief Commander, Admiral Widodo AS, declared this at the annual TNI Leaders Summit 2000. TNI is also no longer fully responsible for security. This has become a police responsibility. This is a significant change compared with the situation of the armed forces in the past. As Admiral Widodo said, the TNI summit also stressed commitment and consistency in matters of internal reform. The problem now is how to eliminate the remnants of the dual role that has permeated the armed forces' doctrine. TNI is in the process of leaving its dual role today. But not every dual trend has been eliminated. The TNI doctrine still contains elements of 'dual function.' There still are Territorial Commandos, Military District Commandos, and other internal security forces in the military. Admiral Widodo AS also added that while waiting for National Defense and Security (Hankamneg) bill revision, TNI would conduct six functions.[77]

1. To prevent enemy aggression.

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[76] "KSAU Dukung Pelurusan Sejarah," *Kompas Online*, available at http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/berita-terbaru/1114.html

[77] "TNI takkan Masuki Wacana Politik," *Kompas Online*, available at http://www.kompas.com/kompascetak/0004/22/nasional/tni06.htm

2. To train people for national defense duties.
3. To be in charge of the law of the sea and air of Indonesian.
4. To help police in their duties, especially in anti-terrorism and countering armed rebellion.
5. To help government duty in maintaining national defense and consolidate nation unity, to overcome nature disaster, to prepare non TNI components for the purpose of national defense and other social problems.
6. To conduct international duties to create world peace.

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